1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

124 versation were also entered as well as certain behaviors which, at the time they were observed, seemed of small value as ethnographic data. A specimen portion of a P-data sheet is shown below.

P-DATA SHEET—OLD MAN

124 159 9:27:45 (Old Man's Place). Discussing River Joe's loneliness this first winter of his widowhood and his plans for finding a new wife, Old Man said: "He calls himself Taku Injun. Why don't he go to his own people to get wife?"

9:29:45. "I got nobody to cry to when I'm small kid. I try to make toboggan myself, small one. I burn it lots of times. I put it too close to fire. When I'm little kid I'm shy. I got no really mother. I got nobody make me anything."

According to Old Man, Harry Lang advised Hans to stay with Old Man a couple of years. "'If you do that,' he tell him, 'you're gonna have everything, little thing.'" Traveling around at Frances Lake, Hans had nothing. Trapping in a different country every winter, he would leave his traps in one place and then be without them in the next season. Now he is beginning to accumulate goods, said Old Man. "I don't think that man talk to his wife. I just hear his wife talking."

Old Man said maybe Peter Tom was not going to return to Louis Maza's place for the winter because Maza was too "mean" to Peter. Old Man pointed out that Peter got all the meat, ran Louis' trap line, and cut the wood. Louis only visited the line in November.

"First I keep my old lady we had trouble always. She want to wear sweaters at night too." His wife told Old Man that he could quit her if he didn't like her ways. He told her she should learn. "'Don't cook straight meat; what we gonna do with this grub? No use keep it all winter.' Sometimes she start to cry. Now this time she's all right."

9:29:45 (Evening). "I dream Irene Wiley grow more small. She go down a high hill. She start to pack water for my old woman down a high hill. Summer trail down there. My wife standing there. I left my gun there too. I go down too. Irene go down hill; she get smaller. Big kettle she packing around. She go down in the mud. Sqil, sqil you hear. Gee, I laugh. 'Irene,' I say, 'you grow small.' She say, 'Uncle, you wait. Airplane fly around. That's why I so scared I grow small.' I pack water up again. I don't want her to pack. She too small. I lost my pack. Lots of meat on top of the hill. That's why I figger I go to mountain. Lots of bunch. We come back quick. I don't know Mrs. Harry [Lang]. She feel bad. I don't think they move."

[What does it mean, Irene growing small?] "I figger maybe when she go down to Liard maybe she got sick."

The dream came to Old Man's mind after he had been talking about Irene Wiley going to Lower Post with a white man. Old man said that while Irene was with him last winter she set traps but did not visit them again.

126 A daily journal was also kept in order to record the temporal sequence of events for future study as well as note their immediate impression on the ethnographer.

124 To increase the amount of verbalization by informants, with the aim of securing information about a wider range of behavior, a series of one hour interviews were conducted with a limited number of subjects willing to cooperate. Nine such subjects were secured but many of these could not be prevailed upon to continue the procedure after two or three hours. With one person interviews were conducted throughout the summer and early fall for a total of over fourteen accumulated hours. During the first interviews the person was invited to tell the story of his or her life. It was quickly evident that most of the Indians

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

did not have the historical sense necessary to give a chronological record of this type. As interviews continued and some subjects became more accustomed to talking in the ethnographer's presence, a number of "expressive interviews,"[8] were devised. These followed both active and passive techniques. In the passive interviews an attempt was made to duplicate as much as possible the psychoanalytic situation in which a subject is invited to speak freely whatever comes to his mind. In most cases where active participation of the ethnographer occurred in such interviews, the latter's question or direction was noted so that this influence could later be evaluated in analyzing the flow of communication. It was observed that strong or persistent questioning tended to produce confusion and arouse discomfort in many people. This made active interviewing extremely difficult. On the other hand if subjects were left alone with the invitation for spontaneous communication, they often said nothing. All of these behavioral reactions were regarded as important data for subsequent analysis. Another form of behavior was noted in two or three people. They manifested a rapid flow of more or less chronological detail which contained little in the way of personal attitudes or reactions to life experiences. This was a difficulty that could not be overcome. Each interview opened with a request for dreams. If any dreams were submitted, an attempt was made to secure associations. Only once or twice were dreams interpreted to subjects. Interviews were paid for at the conclusion of each hour and were, for the most part, recorded verbatim but in "long hand." They were always conducted in privacy, some in the ethnographer's home during the absence of his family, others on a log in the brush some distance from camp. Most interviews with men, however, were conducted in a small camp which the ethnographer had erected in a secluded area in Lower Post.

Finally, the Rorschach technique was used to secure verbal responses and additional behavioral data. Like interviews, Rorschach protocols were attached to the P-data sheets which, in some cases, soon expanded into files.

During the time that informants were being interviewed, tested, or engaged in conversation, they were freely treated to cigarettes or cigarette tobacco. In a few cases interviews were followed by lunch or supper at the ethnographer's home.

Analysis. Up to this point discussion of method has been largely limited to the preparation for field work and the techniques followed in the observation and recording of behavior (including verbalization in the word "behavior"). When the collection of data was completed, two types of material could be distinguished, ethnographic data, which had been classified into categories specified in the *Outline of Cultural Materials*,[9] and personality data, consisting of interviews, Rorschach records, and the P-data sheets.

Analysis was first employed to construct a cultural background for the study of Kaska ethos. This was done primarily with the ethnographic data, although in some instances attitudes and experiences recorded on the P-data sheets were also utilized when these added knowledge that had not otherwise been observed or reported. The construction of the cultural background may be schematically described as follows.[10]

[8] Kluckhohn, The Personal Document in *Anthropological Science* (1942), 106-109.

[9] Murdock, *et al.*, *Outline of Cultural Materials* (1945).

[10] Nothing in the following outline should be taken to deny that observation is not always compounded of some degree of inference or that perception is not always largely selective.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

Language and Communication

The division of Kaska speech into four mutually intelligible dialects has already been discussed in connection with the tribal differentiation of the Kaska nation. These languages belong to the Athapaskan stock and, like most of the divisions of that group, are tone languages.

In addition to understanding the speech of the members of other Kaska tribes, most people can also manage to understand non-Kaska speakers from surrounding areas who use more distinctive Athapaskan dialects. The mutual intelligibility of the dialects has probably contributed to reducing the need for any marginal language. Some men understand and can speak a little Chinook, but this jargon is never used within the community.

To whites and, to a lesser degree, among themselves, the Kaska speak a variety of English which follows some of the rules of that language but possesses distinctive features of its own. Thus, for example, the feminine gender is usually ignored and the pronouns "he" or "him" are sometimes applied to both sexes and neuter objects. In replying to a question employing the negative, "Yes" is largely used instead of "No." Thus, "You don't know that story?" is answered, "Yes," if the speaker wishes to indicate a lack of knowledge. In speaking English, the sound l is substituted for r by most adults. A few French words have entered the language; *merci* is sometimes used for "thanks" and the adjective *li* is occasionally employed for "the." Several Tlingit words (like *gukhu* for "thank you") are also employed.

While orthography is of minor importance in this monograph, a brief statement of the signs used to represent some sounds occurring in the kinship terminology and elsewhere should be given. The vowels are:

i - as in English eat
ɪ as in English it
e front unrounded, somewhat like English let
æ as in English hat

Final vowels usually receive the weak stress found in the last sound of English *sofa*. A dot following other vowels than *i* indicates lengthening; in the case of *i* the dot signifies a high front unrounded vowel. The diphthong *aj* is pronounced as in English *my*.

Consonants are as in English, with some exceptions. The t is formed with the tongue against the lower teeth and is slightly voiced before most vowels. The dorsal lateral spirant ł is pronounced as in the Welsh. Other consonants include the voiced and voiceless dorsal spirants, γ and x; the glottal stop, ʾ; the voiceless apical alveolar spirant θ, and the frontal spirants š and ž.

All of the data for the present study were collected in English, and, since some of this data has been published verbatim, some attention may be paid to the English vocabulary of the Kaska. The following list of words and phrases indicates the principal local usages developed for English words.

ANYBODY, *pron.* Everybody, as "anybody eat."

BOSS, *n.* A person who has the right to act upon, order, and care for an object, animal, place, or person, thus, "I'm boss for that woman."